

A PROPER
R E P L Y

To a late
Scurrilous LIBEL;
INTITLED,
*Sedition and Defamation
display'd.*

In a TETTER to the AUTHOR.

By CALEB D'ANVERS, of Gray's-Inn, Esq;

Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενον. ——— Hom.



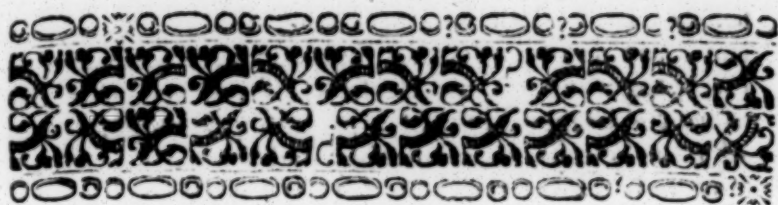
L O N D O N:
Printed by R. FRANCKLIN, in Russel-street, Covent-
Garden, MDCCXXI.

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A PROPER

REPLY

To a late

Scurrilous LIBEL, &c.

Dear SIR,

I Have hitherto declined taking any Notice of those pretty Declamations, with which you have been lately pleased to oblige the Publick; and look'd upon them only as little Flights, or Exercitations of a Genius, which had a Mind to try its Strength in Politicks. I compar'd them to the *Disputations* of Undergraduates in the University, or the *Mootings* of young Students at the Temple. I could not suppose that you published them with any other Design; and therefore was sorry to see you turn'd into such high Ridicule, and expos'd to the Laughter of the Town. I thought it beneath any Writer, of Years and Experience, to set his Strength against a young Beginner, and was afraid it would discourage you from pursuing your Studies; but since I find Correction hath had a different Effect upon you, and made you imagine that you are really an Author of some Importance, I am inclin'd to give you a little grave Advice.

When

When you first launched forth into Print, We were somewhat at a Loss to guess what nice Hand had taken the Trouble of collecting such curious *Florilegia* of *Poeticks* together. Some Persons assured me, that They were the Compositions of a promising young Gentleman of *Eton School*, whose Father had a little Employment under the Government, and having observed that some *Boysish Writers*, have lately met with great Encouragement, set his Son this Task, in order to recommend Him to Favour. The little, quaint *Antitheses*, the labour'd Gingle of the Periods, the great Variety of rhetorical Flourishes, affected Metaphors, and puerile Witticisms, with which these *political Nescogays* abound, inclined me at first to believe They were gathered in this Garden; and I had some Thoughts of employing my Nephew *Jeffrey D'Anvers*, who is now in the third Form of *Westminster-School*, to answer Them. But when I read the Character of *Suffolk*, as you apply'd it in your *Sequel* to our present great Minister, I chang'd my Opinion; for I could not suppose that your School-master would have suffer'd you to abuse his Patron, by such an ill-judg'd Parallel; as a * *late Writer* against you hath most cruelly demonstrated.

I was afterwards inform'd, that They were the Samaritan-works of a forward, little, Boarding-School Miss, who was ambitious of becoming, one Time or other, a Maid of Honour; and indeed some dainty, virgin Expressions in those Performances, (as the same Writer observes) render'd it far from being improbable.

But at last I was told, in great Confidence, that They were the Productions of pretty Mr. *Fainlove*; but let me beg of you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, said He, not to treat the young Gentleman with too much Severity! Look at his Youth and Innocence! He is not made for such rough Encounters. O, by no Means, Sir, said I!—What, hurt Mr. *Fainlove*?—What would the Ladies say?—Nay, you know that He is a Lady Himself; or at least such a nice Composition of the two Sexes, that it is difficult to distinguish which is most prædominant. My

* See the Answer to three Pamphlets, &c.

Friend *Horace* had described Him much better than I can.

*Quem si Puellarum infereres Choro,
Niré sagaces falleret Hospites
Discrimen obscurum, solutis
Grinibus, ambiguoque vultu.*

Ovid and *Ausonius* have likewise described such a pretty Medley of the masculine and feminine Gender in the following Verses.

*Talis erat Cultu Facies, quam dicere verè
Virgineam in Puero, puerilem in Virgine posses.*

OVID.

*Dum dubitat Natura Marem, faceretne Puellam,
Factus es, O pulcher pene Puella, Puer.*

AUS.

But though it would be barbarous to handle such a delicate Hermaphrodite, such a pretty, little, Master-Miss, in too rough a Manner; yet you must give me Leave, my Dear, to give you a little, gentle Correction, for your own good. You have carry'd the Jest a little too far in your last Performance, and talk in the Style of a dirty Blackguard Boy. O fye, Master! you should never call Names in a Declamation, nor foul your pretty Mouth with such paw Words as *Traitor* and *Villain*. The Dialect of *Billingsgate* is very unbecoming a Court-Education, and will destroy all Pretensions to the Character of a fine Gentleman, which you have taken so much Pains to acquire, and which you would, I dare say, be almost as loth to lose as your Place, or even another Tooth.

You bespeak the Indulgence of the Publick to this last Excrement of Court-Scandal in a præliminary Libel, intituled, *A Dedication to the Patrons of the Craftsmen*; and tell us that, *the Mode obliges a Writer in this Way, to draw some Kind of Characters*; and therefore you beg Leave (as you are a *Man of Mode*) to indulge your Fancy in framing such, as you may judge, perhaps, to be very masterly Pieces of Deformity; but, in my Opinion,

on, you have over-done it, and drawn some glaring Features in full Light, which ought to have been thrown into Shade, for your own Sake, You should never talk, my Dear, of *Baseness*, *Ingratitude*, and *Treachery*, because People will be apt to call some Thing to Mind, which you ought to wish forgotten, and endeavour to find out a Key for your late Writing.

Neither is it prudent in you to speak with so much Indignation, of betraying private Correspondencies; for though the Persons, who once distinguish'd you by a peculiar Regard, had, I dare say, more Discretion than to trust you with any Secrets, in the greatest Height of their Partiality towards you; yet you have given us very plain Indications how ready you would have been to betray private Correspondencies, if it had tended to serve any laudable Purposes of the Court, or the Interests of Those, in whose Cause you are now so zealously embark'd.

I cannot however forbear admiring the Sagacity of your Patron, in chusing such a Pupil and Advocate. A Circulator of Tittle-Tattle, a Bearer of Tales, a Teller of Fibs, a station'd Spy, even where you was admitted under the strongest Pretences of Friendship, and under the strongest Obligations to it, is a Subject worthy of his Care, and must be capable of making great Advances in those Mysteries of political Magick, into which He hath initiated you.

Though I am an old Man, and no great Admirer of the modern Fashions; yet since you are pleased to tell us, that it is the Mode to draw some kind of Characters and consider Persons rather than Things, I will, in Return, indulge my Fancy, for once, in framing such as may suit the Persons, who have the Honour of Patronizing your courtly Libels; and be assured, Sir, that they shall be as free from Flattery, as your own; though I shall not altogether follow the modern Fashion, which you have introduced. I will endeavour to copy Nature and Truth. Let the World judge of the Likeness.

We will suppose then a Person of tolerable second-rate Parts; below a Genius; above the Vulgar; of Industry inferior to few; of Impudence superior to all Men.

Men. We will suppose him coming into the World with a low Education, mean Habits, and a narrow Fortune; an Adventurer resolved to rise by all the Ways, which Time and Accidents should open to Him. In Parliament ever busy, at Courts always assiduous; never caref'd by the greatest General, or the greatest Statesman of their Time; absolutely dislik'd by the first; and only thought to be of *some little Use* by the second; promoted by one, and just suffer'd by the other. Buoy'd up by the Stream of Party, and a long Series of lucky Accidents, both at home and abroad, this Child of Fortune rises to the first Post in the Government, with Talents scarce equal to the Tenth, and Morals unworthy of the lowest. Even Guilt and Punishment prove Circumstances in his Favour. He proceeds accordingly. He corrupts, and is supported by the Corrupt. He plunders and protects the Plunders. The Wealth, the Strength and Honour of the Nation, are made subservient to his Interest, and the Interest of his Family. Vain of his Parts, indifferent as they are, and vainer of his Person, which is still infinitely worse, no Flattery is too gross for him. A Writer, who would tell Him of his Success in Amours, would gain his Favour in an higher Degree than one, who commended the Conduct of his Administration; and yet the whole World is convinced that He never gain'd either Man or Woman, but as he paid for Them. Let us view Him in another Light, making Differences in the greatest Families; first reviling and endeavouring to distress a Father; to whom he had the greatest Obligations; then again, *for his own Interest*, selling and betraying the Son to the Father; valuing neither but as 'They serv'd his Purpose; ready to betray both, when He found it his Interest to do. Let us survey Him in the Course of a long Administration; giddy with Power; impatient of Controul and Insolence to Mankind; base to Those who assisted Him in Distress; ungrateful to those, who were the Instruments of his Advancement; and treacherous to Those, who preserv'd Him from Disgrace.

Let us behold Him playing the Statesman in *foreign Courts*, and endeavouring to pass off Tricking for Policy;

cy ; making Treaties, without any Design to observe them ; and negotiating his Country out of a State of perfect Tranquility, into a State of Difficulty, Danger and Dependence.—He cannot even assume the Merit of meaning well ; nor plead the poor Excuse of having miscarried in the Conduct of a good Design. He and his Flatterers have been challeng'd, over and over, to produce a single Instance of any great or good Action, for the national Interest, concerted and accomplish'd by Him, during so long a Continuance in Power. The most sanguine of his Sycophants, have not dared to take up the Gauntlet. He hath been mute.—As He rose by Party, He finds it necessary to support Himself by Party ; and endeavours to divert the general Hatred of the People from Himself, by putting his Master upon Measures, which naturally tend to alienate their Affections.

We will suppose another Person, who introduces Himself amongst his Betters. by being a Buffoon ; and is turn'd out of their Company for being saucy, ill-bred, noisy, scurrilous, obscene ; the Jest and Scorn of Mankind, the Admiration of his *B——r* ; intrusted with Affairs of the greatest Importance ; and proving Himself, through a long Series of Business, incapable of it ; —intrusted again —lying in the Face of his Country ; —believed ; —lying again ; —detected ; —and yet supported.

Let me suppose two such Persons, whom Sympathy of Nature, Proximity of Blood, and the predominant Principle of endeavouring to raise Themselves upon the Ruin of their Country, had united in the strictest Friendship, Confidence and Intimacy ; joint Ministers, and inseparable Colleagues in the Management of all Affairs. If These, and such as These, are to be Rulers of Nations ; if such Characters are to be met with, the People of England will consider, whether These, and such as These are the Men, in whose Hands They are willing to trust the Interest, the Honour and Glory of this Kingdom. But if no such Persons are in Being, this Description of Them is no more to the Purpose than That, which gave Occasion to it.

And now, *my Dear*, having paid this Regard to your Dedication, I shall look into the Body of this notable

Trea-

Treatise; in which perhaps you may have received some Assistance from your Patron Himself, or that excellent Politician his *Brother*. I do not deny the Whole to be your own Work; for there is nothing in the Matter or the Style of it, which you might not be able to produce; but I confess, even the Bulk makes it a Point a little dubious; and forty-eight Pages, even of such Stuff, seem a Toil almost too great for the flimsy Texture of so delicate a Brain. But however That may be; whether you compiled, or only dedicated the Piece; whether your Patron contributed some Strokes of that Rhetorick, which never persuades, and that Pathos, which never moves; or whether you discompos'd the Lillies and Roses of your Cheeks, by a painful Collection of all those Common-place Reflections, which swell this elaborate Piece; it cannot be improper to continue my Address to you, who have taken his Cause under your immediate Care, as he hath taken your Character and Conscience under his.

You set out, *Child*, with an Assertion, which is a flat Contradiction to the whole Tenour of your subsequent Libel; for you say (p. 1.) that no Plots at home, or Invasion from abroad seem to threaten us; and that the Spirit of *Jacobitism* seems to lie dormant in private Corners, till a more proper Season offers to exert itself, whereas there is scarce another Page in your whole Declamation, in which you do not charge the Authors and Patrons of the *Craftsman*, with a Design of fomenting a Rebellion; overturning the present Establishment; bringing in the *Pretender*; and concerting another Revolution. Nay, in p. 35, you mention the Discovery of some secret Engagements, which these pretended Patriots have entered into with the *Jacobites*. You must have made this important Discovery, my Dear, since you wrote the first Page; because you acknowledge that you had no Apprehensions, at that Time, of any Plots at home, or Invasions from abroad. These secret Engagements seem to be of the same Nature with Those, which some sharp-sighted Persons spied out four or five Years ago; and perhaps They may be all brought fully to Light at the same Time.

B

You

You tell us that you have pass'd the greatest Part of the late Vacation in a Country Retirement, and been enjoying the Fruits of Peace and Liberty, by the Labours of the Busy and the Great. Lord ! said a Gentleman of my Acquaintance, upon reading this Passage, what will this little Creature come out at last ; a Courtier or a Country Gentleman ; a Gamester, or a Patriot ; a Poet or a Pamphleteer ; a Man or a Woman ?

One would be apt to think indeed, that a Person who scribbles in this Manner, can know very little of what is stirring in the active Part of the World ; and I am sure you did not pick up your Materials from the *Craftsman* and *Fog's Journal*, which you say you have constantly perus'd. I wish you would inform us, what Part of the Country you chose for your Retirement, where the People feel the Blessings of the present Conjunction in so sensible a Manner ; for We hardly meet with any Thing but Peace, Plenty, Liberty and Prosperity, in every Page of this exquisite Performance. I say, my Dear, I wish you would be so kind as to let us know in what halcyon Part of this Island, you have had the good Fortune to find so agreeable a Retirement, that your Fellow-Subjects may have the Pleasure of partaking the same Blessings, and joining in the same Congratulations. — But supposing the Case to be as you state it, *Peace abroad and Tranquility at home* ; why should it be otherwise ? Did not your *Patron* find the Nation in *Peace* ? Does not every *Englishman* pay his Share of *annual Taxes* towards the Maintenance of 20,000 Men, to secure *Tranquility at home* ; and hath He not already paid his Quota of *five or six Millions*, for repurchasing a *Peace abroad*, even when We had Reason to imagine it settled after a prosperous War ? — This *Peace* must certainly be a choice Commodity at last, since We have gone to so many different Markets to buy it.

I am ready upon all Occasions to, own the *Goodness of the King* ; but the LENITY, which the *Craftsman* hath met with from the *Ministers*, hath been frequent *Imprisonments, vexatious Prosecutions, expensive Trials, Seizures of his Goods, and Interruption of his Business*. It cannot therefore be thought at all wonderful that He thinks Himself more oblig'd to the Justice of a *Jury*, than to the

Lenity

Lenity of your *Patron*; and you might as well have ascribed the *Lenity* of the *past Season* to Him.

You seem, little Master, to be one of those *Patriots*, whom you describe; exceedingly temperate in your Concern for your Country, and immoderately zealous in the Interest of your Patron. For my Part, I have no great Notion of those two lukewarm Virtues, which you are pleas'd to recommend; I mean Calmness, under any impending Danger of our Country; and Moderation towards the Authors of it. These were Virtues unknown to the antient Patriots of *Greece* and *Rome*; who have, on some Occasions, sacrificed not only private Friendships, but even the Sentiments of natural Affection to the Love of their Country.

You are graciously pleas'd to declare, that you will have so much Charity for the most inveterate of our modern Incendiaries, *that you believe, at first setting out, They did not design to have run the Lengths, that Time and Despair have oblig'd them to do.*—Why This is mighty civilly done indeed! But what *Despair*, Child, do you mean? *Despair* of reforming your *Patron* or his Measures?—However, to shew you, *my Dear*, how grateful We are for such an Obligation, We will return your *Patron* the same Compliment, and charitably believe that he did not think of *running such Lengths, at his first setting out*; but being once embark'd, and having always had a natural Appetite of engrossing more Power than is consistent with a Subject, and amassing more Wealth than it was possible for Him to accumulate by honest Methods, He found it necessary to go on from one Degree of Iniquity to another, for his own Support.

I will likewise compliment Him, with your *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*; and the whole Paragraph, which is tacked to it, properly belongs to Him. You seem surprized, Master, *that my Men, whose Principles and Education proclaimed them to be Whigs, and whose Actions, for the first Part of their Lives, confirmed that Opinion, could resolve at once to leave their former Friends, &c.* There must be certainly some strong Cause for such an extraordinary Event; and I am ready to grant that either these Gentlemen, or Those, whom They have left, have abandon'd their former Principles; but I will venture to challenge your

your *Patron* to mark out one Passage, or to produce a single Instance of any Proposition, in which the Authors of the *Craftsman* have deviated from the Principles of true *Whiggism*. On the contrary, I will undertake to prove that the Maxims, upon which your *Patron* hath been defended, strike at the Root of all Liberty, and are the Principles of arbitrary Power.

I will likewise defy you to make good another Assertion, which hath been often repeated, and to point out one Paragraph, in which his *Majesty's Person* hath been treated with Disrespect. If the Characters of good and bad Kings have been exhibited, in the Course of Mr. *Oldcastle's* excellent Observations, it must be your own bad Heart, which applies the worst to his present Majesty. To affirm that We ought never to quote a *disagreeable Piece of History*, exceeds the Politeness of the *Court Parson*, who thought it the Height of Rudeness, to mention *Hell* or *Damnation* in the *King's Chappel*.

I will go farther, and put the Case even according to your own Supposition; that a Person, concerned for the Welfare of his Prince, and debar'd from his Presence, should take the liberty to send Him some Advice in the Disguise of History; and even to mark with *Italicks* those Passages, where He imagin'd his Danger to be the greatest; does such a proceeding deserve the Author's Epithet, *traiterous*? No; the *Flatterer*, and not the *Plaindealer*, is the *Traytor*.

You seem very apprehensive, Pag. 7. of being turned into Ridicule by the witty Reasoners of this Age, for representing the paltry Authors of a two penny Paper as Men of such Importance that They are able to overturn the Constitution at Pleasure. Why, really, Masters, They do make a very considerable Figure in your Works, and seem to eclipse your Patron a little in his Negotiations with the Publick. But why will you have any Thing to do with these witty Reasoners, if you are afraid of being turn'd into Ridicule by them? Or why will such a nice Beau as you undertake the nauseous Task of raising in the Dirt, and run the Hazard of being fouled your self? Prithee, leave off this new Trick of political Defamation; and if Thou hast catched an Itch of scribbling, display thy Learning in the *Fairy Tales*.

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Tales, and publish Observations on Story Books. That is the only History fit for such a Writer to dabble in. What hast thou to do with Trade, or Treaties or Mr. H——s? Why should'st Thou fully those pretty Fingers with Ink. Methinks a Fan would become them much better than a Pen; but to draw thy *Grey-Goose Quill* against either of Those, whom thou hast chosen for thy Adversaries, is just as if a *Lilliputian* should offer to encounter a *Brobdignagian* in single Combat.

In Page 11. you are more severe upon your own Patron, than you are scurrilous upon the Patrons of the *Craftsman*; for let the World judge whose Head the Cap fits best.—An impudent Face must pass for the Evidence of an honest Heart; a bold Assertion supply the Want of Matter of Fact; and a saucy Repetition of the same Falshood be impos'd as an undoubted Proof of Veracity,—Lord! said I, what could Master mean, to kick down all his labour'd Panegyrick at once by such an injudicious Paragraph? —Indeed, my Dear, you must not indulge your Fancy in drawing such Characters, as much as it may be the modern Fashion.

You now propose to give us a few Instances of the several Heads abovementioned, as far as you can recollect, from this Load of Infamy and Scandal, not having any Collection by you—What a Pity is it that you have not been able, after all the Pains you have taken, to get a compleat Set of the *Craftsmen* from *Coffee-Houses* and *Booksellers-Shops*. I think it was very uncivil in Mr. *Francklin* not to oblige you with a *Collection*, when you sent to him for it; but if you will have Patience for two or three Months longer, you may have as many Sets of this *Load of Infamy and Scandal* as you please, and be able to quote *Chapter and Verse*, from our *political Geneses* to the *Revelations*, without being oblig'd to your *Jacobite Neighbour*.

In the first Place you are very angry with us for complaining of the great *Load of Taxes and Debts*, which the Nation lies under; and tell us that These are one of the *Inconveniencies*, which no human Prudence can prevent. Your Reason seems to be that if human Prudence could have prevented it, your Patron would certainly have done

done it; and who will have the Impudence to deny such Conclusions?—But alas! what hast thou to do with Taxes or Debts, which I dare say, you understand as much as you feel? Those, whom you call the *Patrons of the Craftsman*, pay their *Taxes* out of large Estates; and even the *Craftsman* Himself contributes near a thousand Pounds a Year, out of his Labours for the Publick, to his Majesty's Revenue. But which way can'st thou pretend to have ever paid any Taxes, unless it be out of a Pension, or a Salary?

The Preservation of our Religion and Liberties is always made the Pretence and Excuse for these Debts; and because it once made the incurring of a large Debt really necessary, is therefore trump't up to serve every dirty Job of a Minister. Our Religion and Liberties are certainly very valuable Blessings. I am as ready to contribute, and willing to venture as far as any Man for the Support of both; but Those, who bring either of them in Danger, are answerable for the Expences, which those Dangers occasion. I hope the letting in the Light of the Gospel, will not be a perpetual Window-Tax upon the Nation; and that We shall not always continue to pay Fees for our Liberties, as the Prisoners in the *Fleet* do for a Day Rule.

If the Authors of the *Craftsman* complain that the national Debts are not diminished during a continued Peace for eighteen Years, are They therefore unreasonable Men? Or if they affirm that They are increased, when the Case is evidently so, are They bad Arithmeticians.

You wonder, my Dear, how this Charge can be supported. My Wonder is quite different; for I think the Charge much more easily supported than the Taxes, without any Reflection on the glorious Memory of King *William*. Nobody is more ready than myself to acknowledge the Obligations We lie under to that immortal Prince for our Delivery from Popery and Slavery; but at present, I think, We stand very much in Need of a wise and frugal Minister, to deliver us from the Burthen of Debts and Taxes.

Here you take Notice of a Libel (as you call it) intitled, *A State of the National Debt*, with the odious List

of Taxes made perpetual, &c. at the Tail of it; and tell us that the Falsity of this Libel hath been notoriously made appear, upon an accidental Occurrence in the House of Commons, soon after the Publication of it.—This is an arrant Fib, Master; and I believe your Patron will not think Himself obliged to you for reviving the Memory of an Affair, in which He received such a memorable Defeat from a Gentleman, who never valued Himself upon any extraordinary Skill in Accounts; but by a little Application and a common Capacity, He unravel'd all this labour'd Mystery and discomfited the pretended Goliath at his own Weapons. You cannot forget, my Dear, in what an insolent, ostentations Man- nor your Patron behaved at first, in this Debate, as if nobody understood any Thing of the Matter but Him- self; and how He hung his Head, when he found Him- self obliged to confess his Ignorance before the whole House, and to stand corrected in many Particulars, by his Adversary, whom He had thus arrogantly defy'd. The Gentleman took no great Glory to Himself from this Subject, as dark and intricate as it seem'd to be, and as your Patron endeavour'd to make it, by only reading over three or four Acts of Parliament, Mr. Hutcheson's *State of the Debts*, and a few other Phamph- lets But This was a terrible overthrow to your Patron, as it discover'd his Nakedness in the single Branch of his Administration, in which He was ever supposed to have more than ordinary Capacities; and the Managers of the great Companies, who might have been possess'd with a Notion of his Abilities in this Particular, must be now convinced of their Error, and that He is far from being the only Man (on many Accounts not the fittest Man) to whose Hands their Properties may be safely committed.

This was demonstrated in a * Pamphlet, publish'd soon after; in which the whole Controversy is stated at large, and no Answer to it was ever attempted;

* *Considerations on the national Debts, the sinking Fund, and the State of publick Credit, &c.*

which

which is the Reason, I presume, that you did not mention this Libel, as well as the other.

You allow the Losses, sustain'd by our Merchants in the *West-Indies*, to be a real Misfortune; a Misfortune to be lamented, complain'd of (by every Body, except the *Craftsman*) and if possible to be redress'd. — Is then the Reparation, stipulated to our Merchants, become a Point of bare Possibility only, after all their Trouble and Expences, as well as the Assurances, which were given them of Satisfaction? For God's Sake, my Dear, don't blab our such unwelcome Secrets; but keep up their Spirits with Hopes for some Time longer, lest They should grow impatient, and teize your Patron with fresh Representations. Don't offer to say that *our real Losses are not sufficient to raise such a Clamour of themselves*; because such an Insult upon the *unhappy Sufferers* may provoke them to lay their Case before the Parliament, and to prove, as I am afraid it is easy to do, that the Losses of this Nation, by our late Rupture with *Spain*, are much greater than They have been yet represented.

Satisfaction to the Merchants (says our pretty Master) is the least Thing They were anxious for. That would put an End to Clamour and Discontent; and their only Hope, at present, is a Failure in the punctual Observations of the Articles for this Purpose.

Here's another *Blab* now! What Occasion had you, Child, to talk of Failures? You should always insist upon positive Assurances, as your Patron hath done for several Years together, and make a bold Assertion supply the Want of Matter of Fact. — But if Reparation to our Merchants would put an End to the Clamour and Discontent; prithee, advise thy Patron to make Them easy in this Respect, and give these wicked Incendiaries a finishing Blow. — That would be a Triumph indeed; and serve as well as Mr. Osborne's Thunder-Clap.

The Loss of every Ship, says the young Gentleman, is a national Concern; and, as such, it appears it was considered in our late Treaty with Spain. — But it likewise appears that We have hitherto had no Reparation; tho' the Merchants have taken all the becoming Methods recommended by this Master of political Ceremonies. They repre-

represented their Grievances to the *Minister*. They petition'd the *Parliament*, and sometimes complain'd of their Case in Letters to the *Crafsman*. This is called *aggravating their Misfortune, and making it an Handle for Clamour*. Such a modest Exhortation to Men under Misfortunes not to complain or cry out, is just in the Style of a Butcher to his Hog, which He was carrying to Slaughter: *D—n T'ee for a noisy, grunting Beast, can't you lie still and be quiet, like that Sheep yonder?*

Master goes on thus. 'These are the only real Inconveniencies, or Misfortunes, that I can recollect, as charged to the Account of the present Ministers, since the *Hanover* Succession took Place — Say't Thou so, my Dear? What a sad Thing it is to have a bad Memory: Didst Thou never read any Thing about large standing Armies in Times of Peace; unnatural Alliances, destructive Expeditions abroad, and merry-making Armadas at home; impracticable Treaties; dishonourable Expedients; *Hessian* Troops; *Irish* Recruits; *Gibraltar*; the Reparation of *Dunkirk*; indignities offer'd to the *British* Flag; or the Affair of *Santa Lucia*? — Prithee rub up thy Memory a little, and recollect whether you never heard of a certain Contract with the *BANK*, (the most iniquitous Part of the South-Sea Scheme!) which, though drawn up by your Patron's own Hand, and made with the utmost Solemnity, He did not scruple to declare null and void, after He had made his own Advantage of it, though to the Ruin of Thousands of Families — Didst Thou never hear of the same Person's buying up great Quantities of Army Debentures at a very high Discount (perhaps most of them with the publick Money too) and when He was possess'd of them, providing an Interest for them, with a Retrospect for several Years; nay, what is still more extraordinary, chusing Them out of all the Debts of the Publick to be first paid off, though They originally had no Fund appropriated for the Payment of the Principal or Interest? — See! what it is not to have a Collection of that Load of Infamy and Scandal, in which such Things are mention'd.

You seem to think yourself very witty in supposing that the late Rebellion will not be brought to his Account; and yet as arch as you are, I think you had much better have said nothing about it; for though it may not,

perhaps, be brought to his Account; yet it is well known that He found his Account in it.

But now comes the Conclusion from these Premises — From these Inconveniences therefore, fewer, and less considerable than ever attended this Nation for so long a Series of Time as since his late Majesty's Accession, it appear'd difficult, it hath proved vain, to attempt the Destruction of the Ministers.—Well said, Master, upon my Word! you now begin to understand your Lesson and promise to make a great Man in Time.—This Nation was never attended with fewer or less considerable Inconveniencies! — Excellently asserted! There is some Spirit in This. I defy your Patron himself to make a rounder Assertion, when He next rises up in Defence of his late Measures.

After This, you break out into the usual Strain of Exultation upon the Felicity of the Times. — I can hardly determine which of the Two is most ridiculous, a pert, little Creature talking in this shameless Manner, or a Man that gravely sits down to answer so many confident Affirmations without the least Proof, or any Regard to the Replies, which have been made to them over and over again.—*Peace, Plenty, and Tranquility, Increase of Riches, flourishing State of Trade and publick Credit*, are only so many Words in your Patron's Political Breviary, which his Creatures are oblig'd to repeat, like a Bead Roll, upon all Occasions. It puts me in mind of a profligate Priest singing a *Requiem* over a poor miserable departing Sinner.

You are so modest indeed, when you speak of our *flourishing Trade*, as to add this Restriction, *except with some small Interruption*. You might have added likewise *some moderate Seizures, and inconsiderable Depredations*.

I cannot recollect, my Dear, that I have ever wrote any Thing against the Interest of the Bank, the South Sea Company, or the India Company, as They were just and fair Creditors of the Publick. It is the Business of every honest Man, to do what is in his Power, to support their Credit. But as *Monopolies and exclusive Corruptions*, indeed, I have always thought them dangerous Tools in the Hands of a Minister. I have constantly declared against any Job done for any of Them. I have likewise

always

always been against any *clandestine Trade*; which is not only injurious to the *Proprietors*, but often prejudicial to the Nation, as it gives *these Powers*, with whom this *private Trade* is carry'd on, a plausible Pretence for quarreling with us, whenever their Interest, or Resentment, prompts them to it. I suppose, *Master*, This is what you mean, by saying, that I have written against the several great Companies.

You go on in the same masterly Stile—*This cavilling about foreign Politicks, and these unavoidable Inconveniences have not inflamed the People, to call out for a Change of Government.*—What do you mean by a *Change of Government*, my Dear? If you mean a *Change of the Constitution*, I agree with you. The People have not call'd out for a *Change of the Constitution*; nor do They seem to be in a Disposition to submit to it, if your *Patron* should attempt it. They call out very loudly for the Preservation of it. But if you mean the *Change of the Ministry*, I must confess, that I think the People have discover'd some small Inclination that way, though without Success. They seem to call out for new Ministers, as *Owen Glendower call'd Spirits from the Dead*. They will not always come when he calls.

I hope, *Master*, that you was well inform'd, when you assured us, that the *Design of restraining the Press lives not but in our own Brains*. I hope the Government is not so weak as to stand in need of so extraordinary a Remedy.—But here you seem to forget your self again; for about 14 Pages after this gracious Declaration, you express your Concern in a very pathetick Manner, that our excellent Laws should prove a Sanctuary for these artful Revilers, and hypocritical Dispersers of Treason; and, in another Place, you say that *They ought to be punish'd, instead of despis'd*, —Why so, my Dear, if your own Observation is just (and I think it by far the best in your whole Book) that it is not the Accusation, but the Truth of it, which gives the Wound; and an innocent Man feels no more Pain from the publishing a false Slander, than the Slanderer gains Credit by inventing the Falshood.—I say if This be true, and your *Patron* is an innocent Man, what occasion is there for Punishment; or why need you feel any Concern, Child, that our excellent Laws should prove a Sanctuary

Sanctuary to these artful Revilers?—But are you sure *Master*, that such a *Design* never liv'd in any other *Brains*, besides *ours*? Have no Attempts been made to this Purpose? Were no Persons ever sounded upon it, or even solicited to come into it?—Have a Care, *my Dear*, how you take upon you to asseverate too strongly upon this Head, lest you should be openly convicted of Falshood, and it should appear, that your *Patron* us'd his utmost Endeavours, to accomplish this *Design*; but meeting with the Repulse, which He deserv'd, was obliged to lay it aside, and affected the outward Appearance of being a Friend to that *Liberiy*, which He had secretly attempted to suppress.

But nothing surely can be more ridiculous than your Complaints of *scurrilous Language*, *Billingsgate*, and calling *Names*; (for to use your own Words) *I could undertake to produce more scurrilous Language, more private Scandal, and more ungentlemanlike Abuse* out of the Libels against the supposed Authors and Patrons of the *Craftsman*, for these four Years past, than can possibly be shown in all the polemical Writings of any Reign whatsoever.—Rogue, Rascal, Lye, Scoundrel, Traytor, and Villain, are the principal Flowers of your Rhetorick, and the Foundation of all your Arguments. Prithce, *Child*, talk no more of *Scurrility*, whilst your own Writings discover such a cordial Union and Alliance between *Billingsgate* and *St. J*——'s.

You have display'd your Ignorance and Indiscretion in another Passage, relating to your *Patron*; where you suppose the Terms *avaricious* and *expensive*, *enterprising* and *covous*, *bold* and *fearful*, *ignorant* and *cunning*, to be inconsistent and contradictory Epithets.

If you have read *Salust*, *Master*, you would have found this Description of *Cataline*; *alieni appetens*; *superfusus*; that is, *greedy of other People's Money*, and *Squanderer of his own*. *Tacitus* calls a bad Minister (I think it is *Sejanus*) *Repti Largitor*; which may be translated a *plundering Spendthrift*. Nay, *Rapine* and *Profligacy*, are so far from being inconsistent, that there is an immediate Connection between them. Extravagance and Distress naturally inspire Avarice, as Avarice renders Corruption familiar and necessary.—I could mention a Statesman (or rather a Minister) of this Kind, whose Extr

Extravagance made Him so necessitous, when He came into Power, and his Necessities so corrupt, that He made no scruple to pay off all his Tradesmen their long Arrears by Employments under the Government.

In the same Manner, a Man may be enterprizing and cowardly, bold and fearful; like the Bully you describe; who flourishes his Sword at the Corner of every Street, and yet perhaps will take a Kick or a Box on the Ear, very patiently, from any Man of true Honour and Courage.

Ignorance and Cunning are equally consistent in the same Character; unless you will suppose, in Contradiction to publick Notoriety, that it is impossible for a Man to be totally ignorant of political Affairs, who hath proved Himself cunning enough to raise an exorbitant Estate by Bribery, Corruption and Stock-jobbing.

The two Epithets, which seem to give your Patron's Stomach most Offence, are Corrupt and Blundering; and therefore our pretty, little Scribbler thinks them deserving a more particular Regard—We must attend upon Master in this Disquisition.

I wish, young Gentleman, that I could, with tolerable Decency, return your Patron the Compliment, which you have been pleas'd to bestow upon mine, in the following Words. *It will be readily granted that amongst Those, who wish the Destruction of the Ministers, nay, and have vow'd it too, there are not wanting Men of great Parts, vers'd in the Ways of Business, acquainted with Courts, and not ignorant of Mankind.*—What a Pity is it, I say, that I cannot apply any of these great Qualities to your Patron, without incurring the Imputation of gross Flattery, which is as nauseous to *Me*, as it is agreeable to *Him*.

The Vow, said to have been made, *for the Destruction of a Minister*, is trump'd up, and exaggerated upon all Occasions, though it hath been already explain'd, and shewn not to be of so bloody a Nature, as the Friends of the *Minister*, from their own direful Apprehensions, have represented it.—What an unpardonable Piece of *Inhumanity* is it for any Gentleman to attempt the Ruin of a *Minister*, in his ministerial Capacity, when He is reduced to the Alternative of giving up the *Minister*

or

or his Country. A Man, who prefers the Safety of his Country to the *filling of his Pockets* now-a-days becomes the Object of Wonder and Ridicule ; an old-fashion'd Fellow with *Cravat-Strings* and *Pantaloon Breeches*.

But the most surprizing Charge of all, is our Accusation of *Corruption*, and not attempting the *Proof* of it in the present Situation of the *Minister* ; but you seem, *pretty Sir*, to take the Word *Corruption* in a limited Sense, and confine it to the *Corrupter*.—Give me Leave to illustrate This by a parallel Case—There is a certain, unnatural, reigning Vice (indecent and almost shocking to mention) which hath, of late, been severely punish'd in a neighbouring Nation. It is well known, that there must be *two Parties* in this Crime ; the *Pathick*, and the *Agent* ; both equally guilty. I need not explain These any farther. The *Proof* of the Crime hath been generally made by the *Pathick* ; but I believe that Evidence will not be obtained quite so easily in the Case of *Corruption*, when a Man enjoys every Moment the Fruits of his Guilt.

What follows, *Page 23*, is the familiar and customary Interposition of the sacred Character of *Majesty* to screen the *Minister* ; a pitiful sculking behind the *Throne*, so often exposed, and without any Answer, that I shall take no farther Notice of it.

The next high Crime and Misdemeanour charged upon us by the *dapper little Author*, is calling his *Patron* a *Blunderer*. It is somewhat strange, *my Dear*, that you should find Fault with the softest Word that can be given, supposing the Case to be as We put it ; for *Maladministration* must be either *Blundering* or *Treachery* ; a Fault in the *Heart*, or in the *Understanding*. For my Part, I think *blundering* the most charitable, kind and even friendly Epithet in this Case ; for what must We call Him otherwise ; or why should it offend Him, if He does not deserve it ? Queen *Elizabeth's Fcol*, who was whipt for calling a simple Courtier *Brother*, had Sense enough to know that if he had call'd Lord *Burleigh* so, it would have given no Offence.

But it seems a certain *Patron* of the *Craftsman* does not consider how far his own Reputation suffers for having been the FOLLOWER of a *Fool* ; fighting under

his BANNERS, and endeavouring to *persuade the World* that he is able to *instruct his MASTER*——What canst Thou mean, *Chit*, by all this Stuff? I don't understand what Right your Patron had, from any Circumstances of Character, Fortune, or Abilities, to erect his Standard in a joint-Administration, and to command others to follow Him as their *Master*. We are very sensible indeed that He had always a Spirit of Domination in Him; but why should Those, who never wanted his Assistance, be obliged to submit to his Authority?

How far the Principles of Honour may engage some Men not to blast the Reputation of others, with whom They have lived in Friendship, you will not determine.——Pray, *Master*, read this Paragraph over again, and weigh it well. Think what Reflections may be made upon it, when the World shall come to compare this Sentence and your Conduct together. Will it not be natural to ask if you never had any particular and very great Obligations to a certain Person? Was you not taken into his House like one of his own Family? Did He not in every Thing shew a Disposition, perhaps more, to serve you? Did He not almost singly support your Character, when the little Finicalness of your Person had made you the Joke and Contempt of Mankind? Might not This be carried still farther?——Here therefore I will stop;——Only thus much may be said——This former Patron of yours was, at least, the remote Cause of your obtaining the very Employment you now enjoy; and your present Patron, as destitute as He is of *Friends*, would have thought you too insignificant an Acquisition to have been purchas'd at so high a Price, if it had not been for the Additional Satisfaction of having purloin'd you from his next Door Neighbour.

Your next judicious Charge against Mr. *D'Anvers* is, that He hath complain'd of *Corruption in Elections of Members to serve in Parliament*. This is, no doubt, a most impudent and groundless Charge; and I hope the Reader will resent the Frivolousness of the Complaint. But it unluckily happens that the Electors of *Great-Britain* have received a small Rebuke, of the same Nature, from their Representatives, as well as Mr. *D'Anvers*; for I think
the

the late *Act against Corruption in Elections* is almost as un-
mannerly as the Writings of the *Craftsman*.

Having call'd upon the *collective Body of the People*, the
three great Companies, and (what is more than all) your own
Patron to avenge Themselves upon this *Craftsman*, with
no better Success than the *Craftsman* and the *People*
have call'd for a Change of the Ministry; you call, at last
very loudly upon both Houses of Parliament to destroy
Him without any Ceremony. His Crime towards these
Ancient Bodies is, that He hath somewhere said that They
ought to be as independent of the Crown as possible; and
that it is dangerous to the *Liberty of Parliament* to let too
many of the Members accept of Places at Court.—How
basse, says little Master, is this Maxim? How false is the
Conclusion? Is our *Commonwealth* so form'd, that the Ser-
vice of the King and of the People is inconsistent? Yet as
basse as this Maxim may seem in your Eyes, it hath been
the Maxim of some of the wisest Men of *England*; particu-
larly of your own Patron; who declared, about twelve
Years ago, that the *King's Service* was a Burthen too great
for any Man of Honour to bear; that is, inconsistent with
the Service of the People. But let us turn this Proposition
to the other Side; and ask our little Gentleman, whether
the Service of the King and of the People is so inconsistent,
that a Country Gentleman cannot perform both at the same
Time; that when He is return'd as a Representative of
his Country, it is absolutely necessary to engage Him by
some Reward to serve his King. Is the Crown to suspect
a Country Gentleman, with a good Estate, of any De-
sign to disturb and overturn the Government, in which
He hath so great a Stake? Ought We not to suppose
that his Zeal and Concern for the joint Interest of King
and People, as well as his Weight and Credit, will be
proportionably greater than That of a little, dirty Fel-
low in an Office? Is it not natural for the People to
judge Subsidies more necessary, when They are raised
by Representatives, who put none of them into their
own Pockets, than by such as are reimburs'd; and is it
not more honourable for the Crown to receive them
at such Hands?

No less unfortunate is thy Reasoning, my Dear, in
the following Part of the same Paragraph; where you

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tax Those with Self-interestedness, who abandon'd their Places, in order to vindicate Those who kept Them. I believe, I may venture to say, that some of them might have held their Employments still upon the same slavish Terms, which you propose. Methinks, quitting a Place is an odd Mark of an interested View ; and your Patron formerly reason'd in the same Manner, when the same Aspersions were cast upon him for resigning his Employments ; but We are not to expect Consistency either in You or Him. I must however congratulate Him on being bless'd with the concurring Services of so many worthy Patriots, who discover none of these selfish Views by quitting their Places.

For my Part, I really and on my Conscience believe that the Charge of endeavouring to get into Employment by Opposition was never more groundless than at present. I believe no Body is very ambitious of getting up to the Top of a falling House ; and such, my Dear, I take your Patron's System of Affairs to be at present.

You go on fibbing most abominably in the two next Pages ; where you charge us with abusing the Judges and the Bench of Bishops. Let me beg of you, my dear little Trifler, to quote the Paper, where We call the great Oracles of the Law a *Pack of Judges*. I can recollect no such Expression ; but am ready to produce many Passages, where We have express'd the utmost Respect for those learned and venerable Sages, without leaving the least Room to suspect us of Irony or Ridicule. In one Place, particularly, We acknowledge that the Bench was never fill'd with more able and upright Men than it is at present ; and I am sure no Body can be more sincerely pleas'd than my self, to see that excellent Person, who hath long presid'd in one of our Courts of Justice with the greatest Ability and Integrity, distinguished by those Honours, to which his Merit hath so justly intitled Him.

As to the right Reverent my Lords the Bishops, I hope their Reputation does not stand in need of such childish Penegyrics ; and I will leave Mankind to judge, whether it is not the greatest Reflection on that venerable Bench to suppose Them capable of being

turn'd into Ridicule, on Account of their *Piety* o^r *Learning*.

Another Falshood, which you have broach'd in the same Paragraph is, that We have recommended Assassination of Ministers ; which is so directly contrary to Truth, that We have express'd our Abhorrence of it in that very Paper, I think, to which you allude ; and shew'd the ill Consequences of it to the Publick, as it defrauds them of a just Example of Punishment ; to deter future Criminals, and sinks the Memory of a wicked Mans Guilt in Compassion for the Manner of his Death.——But, how can We expect Truth in the Defence of a Cause, which subsists upon Falshood ?

As your Engagements oblige you to stick at nothing, so you are not ashamed to charge us with having *insulted and calumniated the best of Queens*.

We could likewise prove the Falshood of this Assertion, and produce several Instances from our Writings, in which We offer'd our just Tribute of Praise upon her Majesty's first Accession to the Throne ; but herein, *Master*, lies the Difference between us. You seem to think, that a continual Re-iteration of the same *trite* *Picks of Panegyrick*, may be of Advantage to your Fortune. We apprehend, on the contrary, that always dwelling upon the same Compliments, which grow nauseous and degenerate into the meanest Flattery by Repetition, is highly disadvantageous to her Character, and We leave the World to judge, who set her Majesty in the fairest Light ; They, who act as if she despised such little Artifices ; or They, who represent Her in their Writings as one, weak enough to be caught by such low Adulation ——

Thus are you, Sir, constantly employing your pretty Parts to deck out and adorn the Throne ; but can you moderate the Lust of *Antithesis* in your Panegyrick upon Majesty ; or do you think it any Compliment to a *great Queen*, to swell up the Inventory of her Royal Virtues by Deductions from the Merit of a poor *weakly Writer* ; for This, *my Dear*, is the Sum of your Encomium——Who is the *goodliest Woman* ? The *Queen*——Who is the *wickedest Man* ? The *Craftsman*——Who is the *best of Professants* ? The *Queen*——Who is a

cobite in his Heart, and endeavours to bring in *Popery* and the *Pretender*? The *Crofsman*.—Who is the best of *Wives*, and takes Care of her numerous *Family*? The *Q.—r.*—Who is a *Cannibal*, and would devour his own *Children*? The *Crofsman*.—Her Majesty is highly oblig'd to such *coarse Daubers*; and great Honour, no doubt, must redound to Her, by such an Opposition of Characters.—But when you sit down again to draw such Pictures, let me advise you, to follow the Example of your judicious Fellow-Labourer, Mr. *Francis Walsingham*, who celebrates Sir *George Briton's* Lady for her *Parsimony*, and laying up as much as she can, to provide for her younger Children.—This is a just Topick of Praise, as it tends to make her belov'd amongst her *Tenants*, and is therefore worthy of your Imitation.

You have acquainted us with one great Secret; that the Publick sees through our Design, and will not be imposed upon any longer.—To what Purpose then are all these Pains, these Prosecutions, and that Profusion of Expence amongst a Parcel of poor Scribblers, to refute an Author, who hath lost all Credit, and whom every Body despises?—A *Writer* is like a publick Orator in a free Government. He is but the Mouth of the People; and if He does not speak their Sense, his Oratory will have no manner of Effect. What can an *Incendiary* do, where there is no combustible Matter? The greatest Security of your *Patron* against these *Incendiaries*, consists in the Hardness of his *Metal*. A *Squib*, or a *Fire-Ball* cannot melt down *Brass*; and He hath that *murus aeneus*, that *Brazen-Wall*, not of *Innocence* indeed, but of *Assurance*, to protect Him. *Pamphlets* against a good and a wise *Minister*, are but *Paper-Bullets*. A *Writer* must find *Grievances*. He cannot make them; and We may very properly apply, what *Tully* somewhere says, to ourselves,—*Neque mihi videtur hac multitudo, qua ad audiendum convenit, cognoscere, ex Me causam veluisse, sed ea quae scit mecum recognoscere.*

If *Obloquy* and *Slander* are the *Fines*, which the *Minister* pays for a long Series of *Favour* and *Prosperity* (I suppose you mean his own *Prosperity*, nor the *Nati n's*) I think your *Patron* pays a very small *Quit-Rent*; as the *Italian Wit* said to the *Emperor*, too little *Money* for so much *Folly*.
How

How much cheaper does He come off, than the Earl of Strafford, his great *Prototype*, according to the judicious Parallel of one of his Flatterers? For my Part, I think his *Fine* is so far from being high, that it is quite a *Pennyworth*; instead of an *Impeachment*, a weekly *Admonition*, at the Rate of two Pence every *Saturday*, and paid for by the good People of *England*. Why should he be so angry with his *Benefactors*? The Authors of the *Craftsman* have often set Him aright, and constantly walk after Him, with a *Sponge* and a *Rubbing Brush*, to wash out the Spots, which he daily contracts—What He hath done *right*, hath been intirely owing to these *Gentlemen*, whom He abuses.

And now, *Master*, I have done with you for the present; and I hope for ever; for to tell you the Truth, I am not only tired with this *Manner* of writing, which you have made necessary; but grow also ashamed of continuing any Contest with you. No good *Tennis-Player* cares to go into a *Court* with a Child, that hath scarce Strength to hold a *Racket*, and cannot pretend to return the *Ball*. But if your *Patron* will write Himself, or pay some better Pen for doing it, He may always depend on my having so much Complaisance, as to make Him what I hope the World will esteem This to be, a *PROPER REPLY*.

To conclude.—Whether you wrote the whole of this *abusive Libel*, or not, your *Observations*, and *Sequel*, deserve this Treatment from one, who never designed you any Harm, till you fell on *others*, in so outrageous a Manner; and if you should think fit to disown this Piece; yet the Usage, which other *Gentlemen* have frequently met with, as the Authors of Papers, which They never saw, before They were published, must Apologize for this Application to you from,

S. I R,

Your humble Servant,

Gray's-Inn, Jan
20th, 1730-1.

Cal. D'Anvers

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